

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5518

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: ALLIED REACTIONS TO FRENCH AMENDMENTS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

SUMMARY: ALLIANCE RESPONSES TO FRENCH PERMREP'S PRESENTATION
IN NOVEMBER 14 AFTERNOON NAC ON FRENCH REVISIONS TO ATLANTIC RELATIONS

DECLARATION (SEPTELS) WERE GENERALLY PRAISEWORTHY OF FRENCH
EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE SUGGESTIONS MADE BY OTHER ALLIES. COMMENTS
ALSO SHOWED, HOWEVER, THAT DRAFTING EFFORT STILL HAS SOME DISTANCE
TO GO. PROCEDURAL DISCUSSION OF NEXT STEPS LED TO BRITISH
AGREEMENT TO ATTEMPT A BETTER ENGLISH VERSION OF THE FRENCH
TEXT. ATLANTIC RELATIONS WILL BE ON NAC AGENDA NEXT WEEK AT
WICH TIME FURTHER SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON FRENCH REVISION, ON
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BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS, ARE ANTICIPATED. PERMREPS
WILL ALSO DISCUSS WHERE DRAFTING EFFORT GOES NEXT. CONSIDER-
ABLE SYMPATHY WAS SHOWN FOR AN INFORMAL U.S. SUGGESTION THAT
NEXT DRAFT BE PRODUCED BY KASTL IN COLLABORATION WITH INDIVIDUAL

DELEGATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF PERMREP COMMENTS ON REVISED TEXT OF FRENCH DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS (USNATO 5444) AND ON FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE'S DETAILED PRESENTATION ON REVISIONS GIVEN NAC NOVEMBER 14, (FRENCH TEXT AND ENGLISH SUMMARY OF DE ROSE'S PRESENTATION SENT SEPTELS).

2. CHORAFAS (GREECE) EXPRESSED GRATITUDE TO FRENCH DELEGATION FOR REVISION IN DECLARATION TEXT WHICH HE SAID WAS HEADED IN RIGHT DIRECTION. HE SAID HIS COMMENTS WERE AIMED NOT AT THE SPIRIT OF THE FRENCH DRAFT BUT AT DETAILS. CHORAFAS THOUGHT REMOVAL OF LANGUAGE ON COUNTRIES DISPOSSESSED OF LIBERTIES (SENTENCE 1, PARA 1) WOULD IMPROVE TEXT AS WOULD DROPPING OF REFERENCE TO "WESTERN" EUROPE IN NEXT SENTENCE SINCE LANGUAGE SEEMED TOO GEOGRAPHICALLY RESTRICTED. LANGUAGE COVERING PROGRESS ON CSCE IN PARA 2 SEEMED TOO OPTIMISTIC. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT EFFORTS AT INCREASING EUROPEAN STABILITY WERE MOVING AHEAD, CHORAFAS WAS NOT CERTAIN THAT AGREEMENT ON "STANDARDS CAPABLE OF INCREASING COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN EUROPE" WAS CLOSE AT HAND. CHORAFAS RECOGNIZED FRENCH PROBLEM IN PLACING MBFR AND CSCE ON PARALLEL FOOTING AND THOUGHT BEST ANSWER MIGHT BE TO DROP SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO BOTH MBFR AND CSCE. HE ALSO ASKED WHAT WOULD BE INCLUDED UNDER GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT REFERRED TO IN PARA 2: "IF HUNTERS CAN'T EVEN KEEP A GUN AROUND THE HOUSE, THEN EVERYONE WOULD BE AGAINST THIS IDEA." CHORAFAS QUESTIONED WHETHER THE STABILITY IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS WAS REALLY AS SOLID AS PRESENTED IN THE NEW LANGUAGE IN PARA 3, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE THOUGHT REFERENCE IN PARA 4 TO LOCATION OF U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE IMPROVED BY MAKING IT CLEAR THAT ALL U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES WERE IMPORTANT TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE REGARDLESS OF THEIR LOCATION. GREEK PERMREP QUERIED WHETHER UK/FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES REFERRED TO IN PARA 5 REALLY COULD BE CONSIDERED SUFFICIENT TO COVER NEEDS OF OTHER EUROPEAN ALLIES. GREEK PERMREP FELT PARA 7 WOULD BE STRONGER IF IT CLEARLY STATED ALLIANCE'S OBJECTIVE WAS NOT ONLY TO PREVENT CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFLICT BUT ITS BASIC PURPOSE WAS TO DEFEND SUCCESSFULLY AGAINST AGGRESSION. RE PARA 8, CHORAFAS SUGGESTED THAT EVERYONE COULD AGREE WITH CLOSER EUROPEAN TIES BUT HE WONDERED IF GREATER EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY WOULD REALLY ADD TO GREATER SECURITY AS PARAGRAPH 8 SEEMS TO SUGGEST. ON BURDENSARING LANGUAGE IN PARA 9, HE FELT THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD ASSUME ITS PROPER PART OF THE CHARGES NOT "IN RELATION TO ITS PLACE IN THE ALLIANCE" BUT ACCORDING TO ITS MEANS. ON PARA 10'S REFERENCE TO CONSULTATIONS, CHORAFAS SUBMITTED THAT LANGUAGE SHOULD BE PARALLEL IN BOTH FIRST AND SECOND SENTENCES SINCE LATTER'S REFERENCE TO "KEEPING ONE ANOTHER INFORMED" DID NOT MEAN THE SAME THING AS TRUE CONSULTATION. FOR PARA 12, CHORAFAS ASKED FOR INTRODUCTION OF LANGUAGE DRAFTED BY

GREEK FONMIN PALAMAS CONCERNING NEW IDEAS WHICH REQUIRE CHANGE (FULL TEXT OF PALAMAS LANGUAGE WILL BE FORWARDED AS SOON AS IT IS MADE AVAILABLE BY GREEK DELEGATION).

3. UK'S SIR EDWARD PECK TERMED THE ORIGINAL FRENCH TEXT "AS EXCELLENT DRAFT TO START WITH," AND THE REVISED TEXT AN IMPROVEMENT. HE SAID IT MET A LOT OF THE UK'S PURPOSES IN THAT IT STILL EMPHASIZES DEFENSE BUT ALSO SPEAKS TO POINTS RAISED BY OTHER ALLIES. HE SAID THE BRITISH WOULD HAVE A "COUPLE OF POLISHING POINTS" TO ADD WHEN FURTHER DRAFTING GETS UNDER WAY. PECK SAID "I FOR ONE CAN ACCEPT" CURRENT LANGUAGE IN PARA 9. WHILE HE UNDERSTANDS FRENCH RESERVATIONS ON MENTION OF MBFR, HE WONDERED IF SOME OF THE OTHERS' CONCERNS WITH THE LANGUAGE IN SENTENCE 2, PARA 9, MIGHT BE ALLAYED BY MENTIONING AT LEAST THAT EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS WERE INVOLVED.

4. MENZIES (CANADA) THANKED FRENCH PERMREP FOR HIS GREAT PERSONAL EFFORT TO INCLUDE SUGGESTIONS FROM OTHER ALLIES. HE PRAISED THE NEW TEXT'S UNITY OF STYLE AND WELCOMED REVISIONS WHICH HE AGREED ADDED A "BIT OF WARMTH" TO THE TEXT. THE REVISIONS WOULD, HOWEVER, REQUIRE FURTHER DETAILED STUDY BOTH IN NATO AND IN CAPITALS. MENZIES SAID HE WAS "FASCINATED" BY STRATEGIC ELEMENTS FRENCH HAD ATTEMPTED TO PUT DOWN. HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH HAD IDENTIFIED THE CHIEF NEW CHANGE IN THE LAST DECADE AND HE PERSONALLY FOUND DE ROSE'S EXPLANATION OF PARAGRAPH 3 REASONABLE FROM THE EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW. HE DID NOT KNOW,
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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6. FRG (KRAPP) SAID HE WAS POSITIVELY DISPOSED TOWARD THE REVISED DRAFT WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT OF MANY, BUT NOT ALL, GERMAN CONCERNS. HE SAID THE REVISIONS CONSTITUTED A REMARKABLE STEP FORWARD AND HE HOPED FURTHER WORK WOULD MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL OBSTACLES BEING PUT IN THE WAY.

7. ITALY (SPINELLI) THANKED THE FRENCH DELEGATION FOR ADDING "SATISFACTORY AMENDMENTS" WHICH IMPROVED THE FIRST FRENCH TEXT. HE SUGGESTED THAT MANY OF ITALY'S POINTS HAD BEEN COVERED IN THE REVISED DRAFT AND BELIEVED THAT THE CURRENT TEXT WAS IN ACCEPTABLE FORM EXCEPT FOR POSSIBLE MINOR AMENDMENTS. IT SHOULD NOW GO TO THE SPC.

8. BELGIUM (DE STAERCK) SAID HE WAS "ASHAMED" TO HAVE ASKED THE FRENCH PERMREP TO DO SO MUCH WORK WHICH HE TERMED EXCELLENT IN ITS UNITY OF TONE AND IN ITS ATTEMPT TO MEET THE SUGGESTIONS OF OTHERS. HE THOUGHT THE DRAFT WAS ALREADY QUITE WELL ADVANCED AND SAID THAT THERE SHOULD BE A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO DIGEST COMMENTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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HE NOTED THAT THE FRENCH HAD ACCEPTED THINGS THAT PARIS ORIGINALLY DID NOT WANT. HE NOTED TOO THAT THE IMPORTANT FACT FOR THE FUTURE WAS A TEXT WHICH REPRESENTED AGREEMENT AMONG THE FIFTEEN SINCE THE FUTURE OF THE ALLIANCE CAN ONLY BE REAL IF IT INCLUDES FRANCE. DE STAERCKE RECOGNIZED, AS HAD OTHER PERMREPS, THAT THE ENGLISH RENDITION OF THE FRENCH TEXT LEFT SOMETHING TO BE DESIRED. HE ASKED IF THE UK DELEGATION WOULD BE PREPARED TO DEVELOP A TEXT IN ENGLISH AS INSPIRING AS THE FRENCH VERSION. DE STAERCKE AGREED WITH THE FRG'S SUGGESTION THAT WORK MOVE RAPIDLY AHEAD. HE THOUGHT WORK SHOULD BEGIN NEXT WEEK WITH FURTHER STUDY -- PARTICULARLY OF PARAS 3 AND 6 WHICH DEAL WITH THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ALLIANCE STRATEGY -- BEFORE MOVING ON TO DRAFTING STAGE. DE STAERCKE REFERRED TO EARLIER SUGGESTIONS THAT WORK NOW GO FORWARD IN THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC). HE THOUGHT ASSIGNMENT OF THIS TASK TO THE SPC WOULD PLACE THAT COMMITTEE IN AN IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION SINCE THE GREEK SUGGESTIONS DEMONSTRATED THE DIFFICULTY INHERENT IN DOING DRAFTING IN THE SPC. ALTHOUGH PERSONALLY INCLINED TO SEE WORK GO FORWARD IN THE COUNCIL, DE STAERCKE ASKED DE ROSE FOR HIS VIEWS ON NEXT STEPS.

9. UK (PECK) SAID HIS DELEGATION WOULD BE WILLING TO TRY TO PRODUCE AN ENGLISH TEXT OF THE FRENCH REVISED DRAFT "WORTHY OF THE STATESMEN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I, AND OF THE OFFICIALS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II."

10. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD SAID THAT WASHINGTON WAS STUDYING THE FRENCH REVISION AND MIGHT WELL WISH TO COMMENT LATER ON SPECIFIC PASSAGES. HE SAID THE U.S. WOULD OF COURSE BE INTERESTED TO HEAR THE INSTRUCTED REACTIONS OF ITS ALLIES TO THE FRENCH PROPOSALS IN THIS EFFORT, TO WHICH WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE, TO ACHIEVE A DECLARATION OF THE FIFTEEN. ON A "VERY PERSONAL,

UNINSTRUCTED, AND POSSIBLY UNINFORMED BASIS" AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ASKED THE QUESTION OF HIMSELF AS TO HOW ONE MIGHT MAKE RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES OF PARLIAMENTARIANS, JOURNALISTS OR THE GENERAL PUBLIC WITH RESPECT TO THE FACT THAT THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 3 SEEMS NOT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT, FOR EXAMPLE, THE 300,000 U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE, AS WELL AS THE U.S. FLEET. SENTENCE 2, PARA 3, COULD ALSO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE TREATY AND ITS REFERENCE TO THE INDIVISIBILITY OF ALLIANCE SECURITY. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ALSO QUESTIONED THE PHRASE "GREAT STABILITY." ON PROCEDURAL STEPS, AND AGAIN SPEAKING PERSONALLY, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD NOTED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE SEEMED TO BE AN UNDERSTANDABLE DESIRE TO RETAIN RESPONSIBILITY IN THE NAC FOR THE DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. POSSIBLY THE TASK OF THE COUNCIL IN MOVING TOWARDS AGREEMENT ON A DRAFT DECLARATION COULD BE FACILITATED IF THE COUNCIL WERE TO DESIGNATE SOMEONE, PERHAPS ASY/KASTL, NOT IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SPC BUT AS A RAPPORTEUR FOR THE SPECIAL PURPOSE OF WORKING CLOSELY WITH INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS IN ATTEMPTING TO CLARIFY AND COORDINATE NATIONAL POSITIONS. IN THIS WAY THE COUNCIL WOULD REMAIN CHARGED WITH THE DRAFTING OF THE DECLARATION; BUT THE NOAC WOULD NOT LOSE TIME BY REQUIRING THAT ALL OF THIS TASK BE CONDUCTED WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE REGULAR COUNCIL MEETINGS NOR WOULD WORK BE LIMITED TO THE RATHER FORMAL SPC STRUCTURE.

11. SYG LUNS NOTED PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY SEVERAL PERMREPS WITH REFERENCE TO "GREAT STABILITY" IN U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS AND OFFERED VERY PERSONAL SUGGESTION THAT FRENCH MIGHT ACCEPT REPLACEMENT OF "CERTAIN" FOR "GREAT."

12. ERALP (TURKEY) IN THANKING THE FRENCH IDENTIFIED SOME OF THE FRENCH CHANGES AS ACCEPTABLE, OTHERS AS NOT PARTICULARLY SO. HE HAD PARTICULAR PROBLEMS WITH SINGLING OUT THE POSSIBLE EC ROLE IN DEFENSE WHICH IS REFERRED TO IN PARA 8. ERALP THOUGHT AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S IDEA HAD MERIT IN GETTING ON WITH THE DRAFTING EFFORT AND SUGGESTED THAT KASTL MIGHT WORK PARTICULARLY WITH THE FRENCH IN DEVELOPING A FURTHER DRAFT.

13. SVART (DENMARK) SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT THE REVISED FRENCH TEXT CONTAINED THE BULK OF THE ELEMENTS CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL BY OTHER DELEGATIONS. HE WAS HAPPY TO NOTE THE NEW LANGUAGE ON THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ALLIANCE. SAVRT SAID HE HAD SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT PARAGRAPH 11, BUT HE PREFERRED TO DEFER COMMENT UNTIL RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS.

14. SPIERENBURG (NETHERLANDS) SAID THAT ON INSTRUCTIONS HE COULD SAY THAT THE HAGUE WAS "VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED" BY THE FRENCH IMPROVEMENTS ALTHOUGH THE DUTCH WOULD STILL PREFER SOME AMENDMENTS. HE NOTED THAT THE NETHERLANDS HAD CALLED EARLIER FOR LANGUAGE COVERING A PERIODIC REVIEW OF ALLIANCE

OBJECTIVES AND HE SUGGESTED A 13TH ARTICLE WITH THE FOLLOWING
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LANGUAGE: "THE SIGNATORIES HAVE AGREED TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS AND TO EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION." THE DUTCH PERMREP SAID THAT THE HAGUE STILL FELT THAT THE TEXT DWELT TOO MUCH ON DEFENSE, NOT ENOUGH ON IMPROVED SECURITY THROUGH DETENTE AND MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS. HE HOPED THE FRENCH MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT STRONGER LANGUAGE IN THIS AREA.

15. IN THANKING OTHER PREMREPS FOR THEIR FAVORABLE COMMENTS ON FRENCH EFFORT, DE ROSE REMINDED THAT THE CURRENT EFFORT WAS A FRENCH CONTRIBUTION, NOT A DOCUMENT SETTING FRANCE AGAINST THE FOURTEEN. HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH HAD DONE THEIR BEST AND AGREED THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS NOT PERFECT. HE NOTED, FOR EXAMPLE, CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. PERMREP ABOUT FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS IN PARA 3 OF THE TEXT. THE FRENCH WERE GLAD, HOWEVER, FOR THE PROGRESS ALREADY MADE AND RECOGNIZED THAT SUGGESTED CHANGES WOULD HAVE TO BE DECIDED UPON. SOME SUGGESTIONS WOULD SEEM TO CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING THE TEXT.

16. IN HIS FINAL SUMMARY, SYG LUNS NOTED THAT SOME PERMREPS HAD INSTRUCTED REACTIONS, OTHERS DID NOT. HE PARTICULARLY NOTED U.S. OBSERVATIONS ON KEY PARAGRAPHS IN THE FRENCH DRAFT. ALTHOUGH HE THOUGHT AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S PROCEDURAL SUGGESTIONS WERE GOOD ONES, HE ASKED THAT A DECISION ON THE FUTURE DRAFTING EFFORT BE DEFERRED UNTIL ALL GOVERNMENT VIEWS WERE IN. HE HOPED THAT FINAL GOVERNMENT REACTIONS WOULD BE AVAILABLE BY NEXT WEEK FOR DISCUSSION.
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